

The 1957 season of racial riots is off to an early start.

The first serious trouble erupted here (Nashville, Tennessee) April 4, in a rioting of Negro college students—attired by "black power" advocates Stokely Carmichael—joined on three successive nights.

On April 11, the trouble scene shifted to Louisville, Ky. Hundreds of Negroes, spurred on by Negro comedian Dick Gregory, staged marches and sit-ins after the city council rejected a proposed open-house ordinance. In Nashville, two students were wounded by gunshots, fires were started by gasoline-filled "Molotov cocktails," rocks were thrown at police and firemen, nearly 100 persons were arrested. Police halted one outbreak with gas.

Rioting began after police, responding to a wife owner's call, arrested a student accused of disturbing the peace.

City officials, educators and civil rights leaders joined in charging that the rioting was instigated—directly or indirectly—by Mr. Carmichael, Negro head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Mr. Carmichael had spent several days in Nashville before the rioting, making speeches and meeting with students from several colleges.

In his speeches, Mr. Carmichael had made such statements as these:

"As long as black people feel they are victims of white people, they will have violence."

"If we don't get justice, we're going to take this country apart."

"The Nashville Tennesseeans" in an editorial commented: "Trouble trails Carmichael wherever he goes."

The U.S. race-riot outlook for the rest of the summer of 1957 is grim. Floyd McGraw, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, has said that: "Hardly any community in this country can call itself immune to trouble this coming summer."

The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King has warned that at least 10 cities are "powder kegs" that could "explode in racial violence this summer." Jackie Robinson, first Negro to play baseball in the big leagues, has warned that rioting this year is likely to move out of Negro neighborhoods into white areas of big cities and their suburbs.

What are we going to do to prevent this? Nothing until it happens? I urge that, as a first step, the Congress enact anti-riot legislation and then devote itself to consideration of further efforts to check the most widespread lawlessness this country has ever known.

In this connection I invite my distinguished colleagues in the House to consider an article by columnist William S. White, dated May 23, 1957. I quote from his article as follows:

Stomaching very big and very deep—and very dangerous—is moving just below the surface this country.

A controlling and ordinarily a moderate-minded majority is becoming grimly angry at the insatiable "demands" alike of extremist civil rights activists and of a left-wing urban political lobby that insists upon wholly unreasonable subsidies from the rest of the people as the price for allowing the maintenance area of disintegrating civil order.

Too many political and interest-group leaders who ought to know better are employing untenable and indefensible tactics. They are beginning to use terms of pressure that are fast to a free and orderly society. They are abandoning the techniques of tactful and rational persuasion for tactics that come close to sheer blackmail.

In a word, they are endlessly threatening that unless this thing or that thing is done

for civil rights or for urban renewal or for more public housing or more swimming pools or whatever, this Nation will conduct a long, hot summer.

Long since, the phrase "a long, hot summer" has come to mean such violence, in the streets, in the ghettos, in the universities, or wherever. It is a threat-term, an ugly slogan that has no place in civilized political discussion.

But everywhere now one reads these three ominous words or hears them said. Let the latest touch come to it or reformist proposals anywhere, and immediately some advocate rises to say in substance to those who are opposed or to those who merely wish to hear all the facts before making up their minds:

"You will accept this and like it—or if you don't there is going to be a long, hot summer."

The great point is that this sort of melodramatic fear rhetoric is not only unjustified on the plain realities of current American life—which in demonstrable fact is constantly being made less and less harsh even to the poor—but that it is greatly self-defeating in this it is a Nation that has been notably generous to its poor and its disadvantaged and it is a Nation that is becoming very tired of having it said that it lacks compassion and understanding.

Already, this form of pressure has gone much too far. Already, it has created a climate of resentment and resistance among perfectly fair-minded men. They do not like to be told that they have been pump-priming where they have been the reverse.

And they are approaching the boiling point of an unjustified emotionalism of their own; a point where they are about to say to the devil with all social reform, not simply to the devils and unsatisfactory but also to the sensible and reasonable.

Mr. Speaker, I insert in the Record at this point a brief summary of riots in the United States since 1951, and an annotated list of such riots from September 27, 1956, to June 22, 1957:

Riots in the United States—May 14, 1951, to June 22, 1957

(Summary information from various sources)

Investigation has yielded no published summary of riots in the United States cover-

ing the period from 1951 to date. The following summary has been brought together from press reports and other fragmentary sources.

Separately counting occurrences in the same locality on different dates, more than 100 riots occurred in cities of the United States during the period May 14, 1951, to June 22, 1957. Generally the riots involving large-scale criminal activities, such as setting fire to buildings, breaking into and looting stores, and shooting at police or firemen, occurred in predominantly Negro residential and commercial areas of cities.

In 1951 there were only a half-dozen riots in the United States. All but one of these were in the South, and all were quite small in comparison with many that occurred later in Northern and Western cities. The 1951 incidents generally represented violent action by white persons in opposition to "freedom riders." These disturbances did not involve firing and looting of buildings, and shooting at police officers.

By 1953 riots in the United States had doubled in number and were generally changing in nature. About half of those in 1953 and most of those thereafter have represented predominantly Negro actions. Six of the 1953 riots occurred in northern States.

There were at least 15 riots in 1954 and at least 12 in 1955.

In 1956 rioting became more widespread than ever before in the history of the United States. The U.S. News and World Report for September 10, 1956, listed 45 cities where riots occurred in that year, and Washington Post "Editorial" already has hit a record-breaking number of places, big and small, in every region. The article added that "many cities, both white and Negro, appear to be increasingly concerned by the rise of 'black power' groups and the spread of racial violence."

Most of the racial riots in 1957 took place in the North and West, rather than in the South. Only 9 of the 38 cities in which riots occurred during 1957 are in the South.

According to incomplete press reports about 50 persons were killed and perhaps 2,000 injured in connection with riots between May 14, 1951 and June 22, 1957. (The total number killed and wounded during this period may actually have been much larger.)

An article in U.S. News and World Report for September 1956 gives the following data concerning the cost of riots in 1954:

What riots have cost—A city-by-city report

City and date of riot	Killed	Injured	Arrested	Shops looted or damaged	Other cost to community*
Philadelphia, Pa. (Aug. 28-29)	0	341	774	122	More than \$2,000,000
New York City (Aug. 28-29)	0	144	424	241	More than \$1,000,000
Boston, N.Y. (Aug. 28-29)	0	492	528	54	More than \$1,000,000
Jersey City, N.J. (Aug. 4-5)	0	46	11	71	\$10,000
Pasadena, N.J. (Aug. 14-15)	0	4	18	17	\$12,000
Birmingham, Ala. (Aug. 14-15)	0	57	80	2	Do.
Chicago suburbs (Aug. 18-19)	0	57	80	2	Do.
Total	5	922	2,444	1,260	\$3,022,000 to \$3,000,000

* Costs include damage to buildings, stolen merchandise, cost of troops and extra police and, in some instances, salaries of business losses.

The above-named article reports that in reference to the New York City riot of 1954 one businessman said: "But the physical damage is not the most important thing. The damage to good will and to the community feeling—there is no way to put a dollar figure on that. It took a little of the heart out of the businessmen. There is a feeling that it might happen again."

In 1955, the property loss from fire due to rioting in one locality alone (the Watts area of Los Angeles) was estimated to total \$175 million.

Some sample indications of the magnitude

of the larger riots in 1956 and 1957 are given in press reports, such as:

* Principally the followings (1) U.S. Dept. of Justice, FBI Report on Riots in the United States During the Summer of 1954, Sept. 18, 1954, 10 p. (2) U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Locations of Riots Involving Minority Group Members Chronologically from January 1, 1954 through June 1, 1957, Aug. 11, 1956, 6 p. (3) U.S. Congressional Legislative Reference Service, Race Riots, 1951 to September 23, 1956, Sept. 27, 1956, 6 p.

Los Angeles, Calif., March 1966—600-1000 Negroes threw bricks, set fire and looted for 4 hours.

Chicago, Illinois, June 1966—About 1000 persons rioted in anti-police rioting.

Boston, Mass., June 1967—More than 1,000 persons rioted.

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 1967—Thousands of teen-ages and young adults rioted in three predominantly Negro sections.

Riots in the United States—September 27, 1966 to June 22, 1967.

(Summarized from press reports)

San Francisco, California, September 27, 1966: Several hundred Negroes set fire, broke store windows, looted stores and threw rocks at police cars, following a white policeman's shooting of a Negro youth running from a stolen car. Three policemen, a fireman and a grocer were hurt by flying rocks and bottles. (Police shooting of the young Negro was later declared by a coroner's jury to be "justifiable.")

San Francisco, California, September 24, 1966: Riots spread to other parts of the city. One newspaper reported "They are shooting at anyone that is white". National Guard troops were used to restore some order. More than 50 persons were injured.

San Francisco, California, September 23, 1966: Flying Negroes threw rocks and smashed store windows following the shooting of a Negro prisoner by a policeman. (An integrated coroner's jury later found the shooting to be "justifiable homicide.")

Oakland, California, October 19, 1966: Riots of Negroes followed a police shooting. Riots started, started fires with gasoline bombs, and assaulted passersby after arrest of a Negro woman for a traffic violation. Thirty-seven business firms were damaged, 5 whites were beaten in East Oakland. Five white teachers and 15 white students were beaten in Castle Rock High School.

Cleveland, Florida, November 1, 1966: An estimated 400 Negroes engaged in vandalism and threw rocks at cars driven by white persons.

Oakland, New York, November 1, 1966: About 400 Negro youths rioted, smashed store windows, stomped one policeman unconscious and injured 6 other policemen.

Tallahassee, Alabama, December 9, 1966: About 700 Negro students at Tallahassee Institute looted a liquor store, smashed windows and rioted for 3 hours. The Negroes were said to have been "unhappy" over court acquittal of a white man accused of fatally shooting a student of the Institute.

Nashville, Tennessee, April 19, 1967: Several hundred Negro students of Fisk University and Tennessee A. & I. State University rioted on the nights of April 8, 9, and 10. Five died at police stations. At least 17 persons were injured. On April 10 the Tennessee House of Representatives, the Nashville Mayor and some Negro leaders blamed the riots on the presence of "black power" advocate Stokely Carmichael. Two of his aides were arrested for inciting to riot. The Tennessee House of Representatives passed a resolution asking the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service to deport him to Trinidad, his birthplace.

Cleveland, Ohio, April 16, 1967: Violence erupted on the northern boundary of Cleveland's East Side Slough area (predominantly Negro). Much of rock throwing, store windows smashing and looting was reported.

Kentville, Kentucky, April 20, 1967: Police used tear gas into a crowd of more than 1,000 hostile whites who were taunting open housing demonstrations. The mob retaliated by hurling a barrage of bricks and bottles.

Washington, D.C., April 23, 1967: Three white persons riding in a truck which gave

out of gas, and a Negro who tried to help them, were "severely beaten" by a gang of about 80 Negroes in Northeast Washington.

Wichita, Kansas, May 21, 1967: A gang of Negroes beat two white high school athletes and set fire to a business establishment.

Wichita, Kansas, May 21, 1967: National Guard troops were sent to the city.

Wichita, Kansas, May 21, 1967: A riot raised by 1,000 Negroes at Jackson State College in protest against the arrest of a speeding motorist by two Negro policemen. One Negro was fatally wounded.

San Francisco, California, May 18, 1967: Gangs of roving Negro youths in 10000 automobiles, including breaking of store windows and theft, were reported, also assault on white students by Negro youths in two high schools.

San Francisco, California, May 18 and 17, 1967: Hundreds of students rioted at predominantly Negro Texas Southern University. One policeman was killed and two others shot. The foreman of the grand jury said the trouble was caused by "a few agitators".

Chicago, Illinois, May 18, 1967: A crowd of Negroes threw stones and bottles at police during a two-hour disturbance following a memorial service for the Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X. Three policemen and other persons were injured. Thirty persons were charged with inciting to riot.

Wichita, Kansas, June 4, 1967: About 200 rioting Negroes rioted following an attempt by a white policeman to aid a Negro police officer trying to break up a fight between two Negro men.

Boston, Massachusetts, June 5, 1967: A "sit-in" by a group of women welfare recipients erupted into a 4-night riot as "more than 1,000" persons hurled stones and bottles, and fired and looted stores in a predominantly Negro neighborhood. About 70 persons, including 20 policemen, were injured.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 16, 1967: Brick-and-bottle-throwing rioting in a Negro section followed a dispute over a rug. Four policemen were injured.

Montgomery, Alabama, June 19, 1967: Negroes engaged in a riot after Dr. Stokely Carmichael exchanged gunfire with police for 30 minutes. Ten Negroes were charged with inciting a riot.

Tampa, Florida, June 18, 1967: Two nights of rioting in a four-block Negro district occurred after a policeman shot and killed a Negro burglar suspect who refused to halt. Rioters set fire to an entire block, smashed windows and raided stores, including a gun shop, in a 4-block area, and shot at police. Rioting mobs chanted "Get Whitey, get Whitey". (The shooting of the burglar suspect was later ruled justifiable by the state attorney.)

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 13, 1967: "Thousands" of teen-ages and young adults rioted in three of the city's predominantly Negro sections, hurling Molotov cocktails, smashing store windows, looting, and starting fires. Eight persons, including 2 policemen and 2 firemen, were reported injured. Damage was estimated at more than \$1 million.

Wichita, Kansas, June 14, 1967: Gangs of Negro youths smashed shop windows and threw rocks following a speech by Ray Brown, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Atlanta, Georgia, June 22, 1967: Violence erupted on 6 blocks of the predominantly Negro Inman Park section during the nights of June 19-21. Hundreds of Negroes, police and roving bands of Negroes tossed bricks and bottles, set fire and looted stores after black power advocate Stokely Carmichael exhorted those attending a rally, telling them "we need to be beating heads". One white and one Negro policeman and several persons were injured during a clash between police and residents. Militant advocates of "black power" branded as "traitors" Negro youth patrols that were organized to help the peace.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Burke).

Mr. BURKE of Florida asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 421, the anti-riot bill currently under consideration by this body. I believe that the need for this legislation is clearly evident, and urgent.

I understand that last year anti-riot legislation was adopted by the House as an amendment to the proposed Civil Rights Act. That legislation was permitted to die in the Senate. This year we have sensed the growing public demand for assistance in maintaining law and order in the streets and urban centers of our land. We cannot ignore the pleas of our constituents for help. Now, as the result of the effort and interest of a number of Members, and the strong leadership of my Florida colleague, the Honorable Bill CRAMER, this vital legislation has been brought to the House floor as an independent measure. I joined in the sponsorship of a resolution to hasten action on the bill. Our consideration of the measure today is proof of the success of this effort, and I hope we will all be rewarded by the passage of this legislation today.

The civil disturbances, which began several years ago as serious scratches on the face of the Nation's social complexion, have since that time grown to the proportions of open and bleeding wounds. As in the medical profession, we in Congress should not only be concerned with healing the wounds but also with preventing their spread, and, in the long run, preventing the conditions which encourage their very existence. In the meantime, however, it is also imperative to protect the innocent from the disease. Indeed, in the wake of riots and other violent civil disturbances which have plagued our Nation, many innocent people have suffered loss of life and property through no fault of their own. These losses constitute the loss of the most basic of all our civil rights, rights without which all others are meaningless. The destruction of these rights brought about by the incitement of segments of our population to hatred, disorder, and anarchy, must not continue. Rules governing civilized society must not be based on or ignored in the quest for redress of social grievances by dissatisfied citizens. Resort must be to reason, not riots. We must, therefore, prevent intemperate forms of social protest, which exploit hate, impede social progress more than they help it, and do not, in fact, alleviate social injustice.

If we are to protect the citizens' rights to life and property, if we are to uphold our belief in the rule of law as opposed to mob rule in a free society, then we must take action at once, before more blood is spilled, before more flames of hatred are kindled. And how are these flames kindled? Evidence suggests that some of the riots which have taken place have not been just simple spontaneous outbursts over isolated incidents or summer heat waves but, to an unknown but

*Supplementing a list prepared in the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress covering the period 1961 to September 23, 1966.